

## U.S. reappraising M.E. after upset

By WOLF BLITZER  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent  
WASHINGTON. — U.S. officials, stunned by the upset Likud victory, have begun reappraising American policy in the Middle East. They fear that a Likud-led government will now take "hardline" positions on territorial concessions, resulting in a diplomatic stalemate and possibly another round of hostilities.

National security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski said yesterday the Likud upset would not change the relationship between the U.S. and Israel. The basic relationship... does not depend on electoral vicissitudes," he told reporters at the White House.

In its first official comment on the result, the U.S. said it remains fully committed to the search for Middle East peace.

During private conversations yesterday, American officials expressed shock and disappointment over the outcome of Tuesday's election. The Carter Administration had been conducting its peace effort under the assumption that Shimon Peres and the Alignment would remain in power.

The White House said that President Jimmy Carter would like to meet with the next Israeli Prime Minister. Spokesman Jody Powell said that Carter has "indicated on several occasions that at an appropriate time, after the new government is formed, he would like to sit down and discuss peace plans" with the new Israeli leader.

Powell quoted the President as having said yesterday morning that, "The most important aspect of the relationship between this country

and Israel is quite apart from the particular identity of the leaders of either country." He said that Carter "went on to state the long-standing friendship between the two countries. He has no concern about the ability of this government to deal with the freely-chosen leadership of Israel."

Privately, some American officials conceded yesterday that U.S. policy toward the Middle East during the past three months may have played a part in defeating the Labour Alignment — although they insist that this was unintended. In fact, the opposite was true.

It was clear here in Washington that the State Department was rooting for a Labour victory. American policymakers fear that

the Likud would refuse to negotiate the return of most of the territories, while the Labour Alignment is viewed here as more flexible.

At the same time U.S. officials acknowledge that recent American statements of the Middle East — including Carter's remarks on a need for Israel to return to the pre-1967 borders with only minor adjustments and the need for a Palestinian "homeland" — probably scared the Israeli voter into selecting the Likud.

Some American officials were themselves questioning the wisdom of all these public U.S. statements by the Carter Administration during this sensitive campaign period in

(Continued on page 2, col. 5)

## U.S. Jews startled by Likud upset

By MALKA RABINOWITZ  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

NEW YORK. — A startled American Jewish establishment seemed to be placing its trust yesterday in the sobering effect of power on the Likud as it waited for the shape of the new government and its key figures to emerge.

Spokesmen were quick to issue public expressions of support for Israel, while privately hoping that the responsibility of office would soften the ultra-nationalist image cultivated by Menachem Begin's party during a generation on the opposition benches.

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, chairman of the Presidents' Conference and considered a dove, called congratulations to Begin on Tuesday night and welcomed his call for a

national unity government.

Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, president of the American Jewish Congress, issued a statement citing the "deep love of American Jews for Israel" which was directed at the state and its citizens and not to any political party or leader.

One Jewish leader predicted "some increase in dissent" if a narrow Likud-NRP government was formed that felt obligated to carry out its ideological commitment. Senator Jacob Javits, New York Republican, said a more hawkish government would be able to speak with "much more confidence in terms of working out some kind of a deal" with the Arab states. He also suggested that a more conservative government could help improve the Israeli economy.

# Likud ready to form coalition even without Alignment, DMC

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT  
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Likud yesterday proposed a national unity government but said it was certain it could form a coalition without the Alignment or the Democratic Movement for Change.

The religious parties and Shomron are ready to join a national unity government or a Likud-led coalition. Alignment leaders, however, rejected the Likud call; and the DMC anticipated difficulties in reconciling its prior conditions with what its potential partners could offer.

The Likud Executive unanimously declared yesterday it was capable of forming a coalition which would have a backing of a majority in the Knesset. But "at this grave time there is a need for a national unity government which would put the nation back on the main road," it added.

The Likud's No. 2 man, Simcha Ehrlich, told *The Jerusalem Post*: "We want a strong government which can take effective action. Not a government which will be dependent on (a majority of) one."

Who the bloc yesterday appointed Ehrlich, who heads the Liberal Party, Begin, who heads Herut, and Yigal Horowitz of La'am to a committee which will conduct the coalition negotiations with the other parties. A second committee comprising Horowitz, Yitzhak Shamir (Herut) and Moshe Nisim (Liberals) will tackle Knesset issues such as who will be the bloc's candidate for speaker and who his deputy should be.

Begin told Israel Radio reporter Asher Shwartz that he expected President Ephraim Katzir to start negotiations with the Knesset factions before the new Knesset is convened. He said he believed he could form a new cabinet quickly.

Begin's claim is based on the assumption that the Likud will have 45 seats by the time all the votes are counted. Support for the Likud in the army has usually been higher than elsewhere.

The ballots cast in the army are still being counted because the Central Elections Committee first checks whether the soldier-voter was entitled to vote and whether he hadn't voted more than once. (The soldier's identity is marked on an exterior envelope which is cast away after the check.)

The Likud votes, together with the NRP's 12, Shomron's two, Agudat Yisrael and Poalei Agudat Yisrael's five, would give the Likud a 64-member majority in the 120-member chamber, Begin said.

Samuel Flatto Sharon told a press conference here yesterday the Likud's platform is most congenial to him, but Ehrlich said the Likud would do without the millionaire wanted in France for fraud.

Begin was yesterday, according to the first trappings of authority. Bodyguards, including some who had protected Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, were assigned to watch him. A uniformed policeman was also posted outside his home in the centre of Tel Aviv.

Begin is expected to meet Acting Prime Minister Shimon Peres and the head of the central intelligence institute (Ido Moshe) for a briefing on national and security affairs. Begin said he expected the meeting today or tomorrow. A source close to Peres told *The Jerusalem Post* the timing was not set yet.

Independent political observers believed the Likud's capability to form a narrow coalition at an early stage without the Alignment and the DMC could influence the DMC to soften its demands.

Ehrlich said yesterday he believed the chances of forming a national unity government were "very reasonable." But his evaluation was based on impressions, not upon contacts with the potential partners.

Ehrlich said he believed it was possible to bridge the differences (Continued on page 2, col. 1)

## Begin advises Carter not to submit plan

TEL AVIV. — Menachem Begin yesterday advised U.S. President Carter not to prepare his own version of a Middle East settlement for imposition on Israel.

In a conversation with UPI's Allen Alter in Begin's flat here, the man likely to head the next Israeli government said: "The two sides must be allowed to conduct free talks with each other."

Begin repeated his election-night call for negotiations with the leaders of Egypt, Syria and Jordan.

## Arabs see need for U.S. pressure

CAIRO. — The outcome of the Israeli elections shows that the need for American pressure on the Jewish state has become more important than ever before in the efforts to achieve a Middle East peace settlement, government sources said yesterday.

They expressed misgivings that the election victory of Menachem Begin might delay Arab-Israeli peace negotiations, not only because of Begin's reluctance for territorial concessions to the Arabs but also because of anticipated difficulties in the formation of a coalition government in Jerusalem.

Officially, the sources said, Egypt sees no basic differences between Israel's Labour Party and the Likud. "They are all hawks," one source said. "Only some sound more hawkish than others. It's a difference in shade, not substance."

"We have said all along that the U.S. holds most of the cards in the Middle East game," the source said. "Washington is capable of putting pressure on any Israeli government regardless of its colour. Now that superhawk Begin is taking over, American pressure becomes more essential than ever. This is the cardinal factor, and it does not make (Continued on page 3, col. 1)



Likud leader Menachem Begin, flanked by Simcha Ehrlich (left) and Arye Dukin, during a meeting of the Likud Executive yesterday at Beit Jabotinsky in Tel Aviv. (IPFA)

## 9th Knesset expected to convene June 6 with Likud at helm

By ASHER WALLFISH  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Ninth Knesset is expected to convene for its inaugural session on Monday, June 6, with the Likud bloc for the first time orchestrating the arrangements and having the major influence on assignment of committee chairmanships among the major parties as well as on the size of each committee.

According to law, the Knesset must convene on the first Monday following the publication in "Reshumot" (the official gazette) of the final results of the elections.

Before June 6, the Central Elections Committee will have sent each Knesset member a notice that he or she was elected. The quotient per seat, which in 1973 was some 12,500, is this time expected to be between 17,500 and 18,000 votes.

Well before the final count it appears that both the Independent Liberals and the Citizens Rights Movement will be very close to the 1 per cent threshold which a list must cross to qualify for at least one seat. (This threshold is higher than the quotient per seat since there are 120 seats.) There is no certainty that the ILP and the CRM will cross the threshold. Mordechai Ben-Porat's Zionist and Social Revival list will not cross the threshold of 1 per cent.

## Latest estimate of Knesset lineup

Likud	41
Alignment	34
DMC	14
NRP	12
Aguda and Poalei Aguda	5
Democratic Front (Hakab)	6
Shelli	2
Shomron	2
Flatto	1
ILP	1
CRM	1
United Arab	1

It is assumed at this early stage. Samuel Flatto Sharon, who ran on a one-man list, will apparently not get enough votes for a second man (even if he had one.) All the votes for his list, beyond the amount required to give him his one seat, will be ineffective. Even if he had got enough votes for two seats, the surplus would have remained as ineffective votes. When the Knesset seats remaining after the first distribution are shared out according to the Bader-Ofar system, Flatto Sharon's

imaginary and unoccupied second seat will have been shared out as well.

The Basic Law: Knesset says clearly that when a Knesset is newly elected it must contain 120 members. Last night, at the Central Elections Committee in the Knesset building, the results for the last polling region — Dan North, — still had not come in. They are expected early this morning. The results for Petah Tikva were still being put through the computer. All the other regional results had already been checked and cross-checked for mathematical accuracy through the computer. The chairman of the committee, Supreme Court Justice Elihu Mann, made a few minor corrections to get the mathematics straight, something which he is legally authorized to do.

By tonight all the civilian votes will have been counted, but not for publication. The soldiers' votes were all in by yesterday evening, the last batch having been flown in from Sinai to Atarot Airport by special plane. Most of the seamen's votes are already in. Those to arrive before the Sunday-night deadline will be validated for the elections. The late seamen's votes arriving after Sunday night will be disqualified — and (Continued on page 2, col. 5)

## Meshel: Likud, unions may clash

By ZE'EV SCHUL  
Jerusalem Post Labour Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Histadrut Secretary-General Yehoram Meshel yesterday implied that the establishment of a Likud-led government could lead to a "severe confrontation" with the trade union movements. The Histadrut would make no concessions on full employment, restraining inflation, relative price stability, social insurance services and a just distribution of the tax burden, he warned.

In an interview given on Israel Radio yesterday, Meshel reiterated his faith in an overall settlement ("freeze") involving wage and price levels. "But if a new government leaves everything wavering and freezes only wage levels, we will reject it."

Likud leader Menachem Begin has said that he favours a two-year all-round wage and price freeze.

Asked whether he feared that the workers would be worse off under a government presided over by Begin, Meshel said a number of points were worrying him.

"Their No. 2 man (Simcha Ehrlich) said quite bluntly that they intend to control prices by means of what he called 'controlled unemployment.' There was also some talk of compulsory arbitration. I am strongly opposed to anarchy in labour relations — but I also do not believe that 95 per cent of the workers should be seated on court benches."

"Freedom of expression, freedom and integrity of the trade union movement will all be zealously safeguarded. It is a voluntary

organization, and no outsiders should be permitted to dictate terms or attempt to influence it in any way."

At the Histadrut's Phoenix Glass works in Haifa, some of the old-timers, including veteran staff committee member Muna Goldberg, are already talking of "demonstrations against the government." But most of his fellow workers are youngsters and newcomers who "voted for a change" and approve of the Likud.

Histadrut executive member Gideon Ben-Yisrael, however, told *The Jerusalem Post* here yesterday that the idea that the Histadrut would attempt to stage "political strikes" against the legitimate government of this country was absurd.

"But anyone who thinks that he (Continued on page 2, col. 2)

## NRP surprised by their gains

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

National Religious Party leaders were no less surprised early yesterday morning to learn that they had won 12 Knesset seats than Likud headquarters was to discover that they had topped the Alignment.

The NRP had 12 seats in the Seventh Knesset, but it lost two of them in the 1973 elections. That was regarded as the beginning of a trend, and not just the price the NRP had to pay for being part of the government responsible for the shortcomings of the Yom Kippur War.

Most pundits thought that the NRP would be doing well if it succeeded in holding on to 10 seats, and even eight was considered reasonable.

Hakibbutz Hadati, originally offered 11th place on the NRP list, decided not to name a candidate at all. One of its reasons was that this was not a realistic spot.

Party secretary-general Zvi Bernstein ascribes its good showing to the fact that the general public is "fed up with the licentiousness and absence of values" in Israeli society and has come to see that the NRP stands for the values that are lacking.

Asked about coalition prospects, Bernstein said that the NRP would do all in its power to bring about a national unity government. He admitted, however, that there did not seem to be much chance that the Alignment would join a Likud-led government.

But he anticipated that Likud leader Menachem Begin would even have difficulties with the Democratic Movement for Change — if the latter stood firm on its "seven minimum conditions." In that case, he foresaw a narrow coalition comprising the Likud, the NRP, Agudat Yisrael, Shomron and Poalei Agudat Yisrael.

The DMC's national council last month decided that, on

religious questions, each of its Knesset members would have complete freedom to speak, vote, and introduce legislation. Nevertheless, Bernstein implied that the NRP could live with that. If the DMC did not join a Likud-led coalition, he suggested, it would not be because of NRP intransigence.

Bernstein emphasized that all this was his own evaluation of the situation. Only today would the NRP leadership discuss its coalition demands. "But we have no reason to go easy on the Likud," he said.

In the Agudat Yisrael camp, Rabbi Shlomo Lorincz, MK, announced early yesterday morning that his party would "not object" to joining a Likud-led coalition, provided that its terms were accepted. He, too, told this reporter that he had said this on his own responsibility.

The points he mentioned were: abolition of compulsory army service for girls, abolition of Sabbath work permits for industry except in matters of life and death, abolition of autopsies, and the repeal of the recently adopted Abortion Law.

He did not anticipate any difficulty in getting Begin to agree to most of these points. As to the abolition of military service for girls, he hoped that Begin would be persuaded that this was for the good of society and morality. If not, they would remain in the opposition. "We've been in the opposition for 25 years and we feel fine."

(Agudat Yisrael was in the government only from 1948 to 1962, when it quit over the issue of national service for girls.)

Asked whether he had not forgotten to mention the amendment to the Law of Return (conversion according to Halacha) in his list of conditions, Lorincz said that here there was certainly no problem, since the Herut convention is already on record as favouring the amendment.

## DMC busy calculating coalition combinations

By DAVID LENNON  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The early joy in the Democratic Movement for Change headquarters at the first indications of electoral achievements gave way yesterday to sober assessments.

The general feeling was that, despite its success at the polls, the DMC had not done quite well enough to ensure it the balance of power which had been its primary aim.

DMC leader Yigael Yadin and his party leadership met yesterday morning to consider their position as the third largest political party in the next Knesset. Calculating possible coalition combinations was the order of the day.

The firm pre-elections declarations that the DMC would only join a coalition with parties which accepted its demand for electoral reform and new elections within two years appeared to have tied the party's hands. Many members of the party, including Yadin, doubted if the victorious Likud would be willing to risk a swing back to Labour at new elections in the next 24 months.

There was also some doubt if the Likud could accept the DMC's insistence on willingness to return occupied territories in exchange for peace.

Yadin denied that the collapse of support for the Labour Party and consequent emergence of the Likud as the largest party in the Knesset had dealt a heavy blow to DMC plans to form a coalition with Labour. At the same time he admitted that he personally had never imagined that Labour would suffer such a heavy blow.

Indications that compromise was in the air came with his statement that the DMC had "never declared that we will only join a coalition which accepts the DMC's platform, but we will not do anything which is contrary to our platform."

The DMC's 120-member council will have to meet before any decision can be made on changing either the substance or the interpretation of the party platform to enable the new political force to join in a coalition with those who don't agree to it at present.

## NATO to counter Soviet buildup

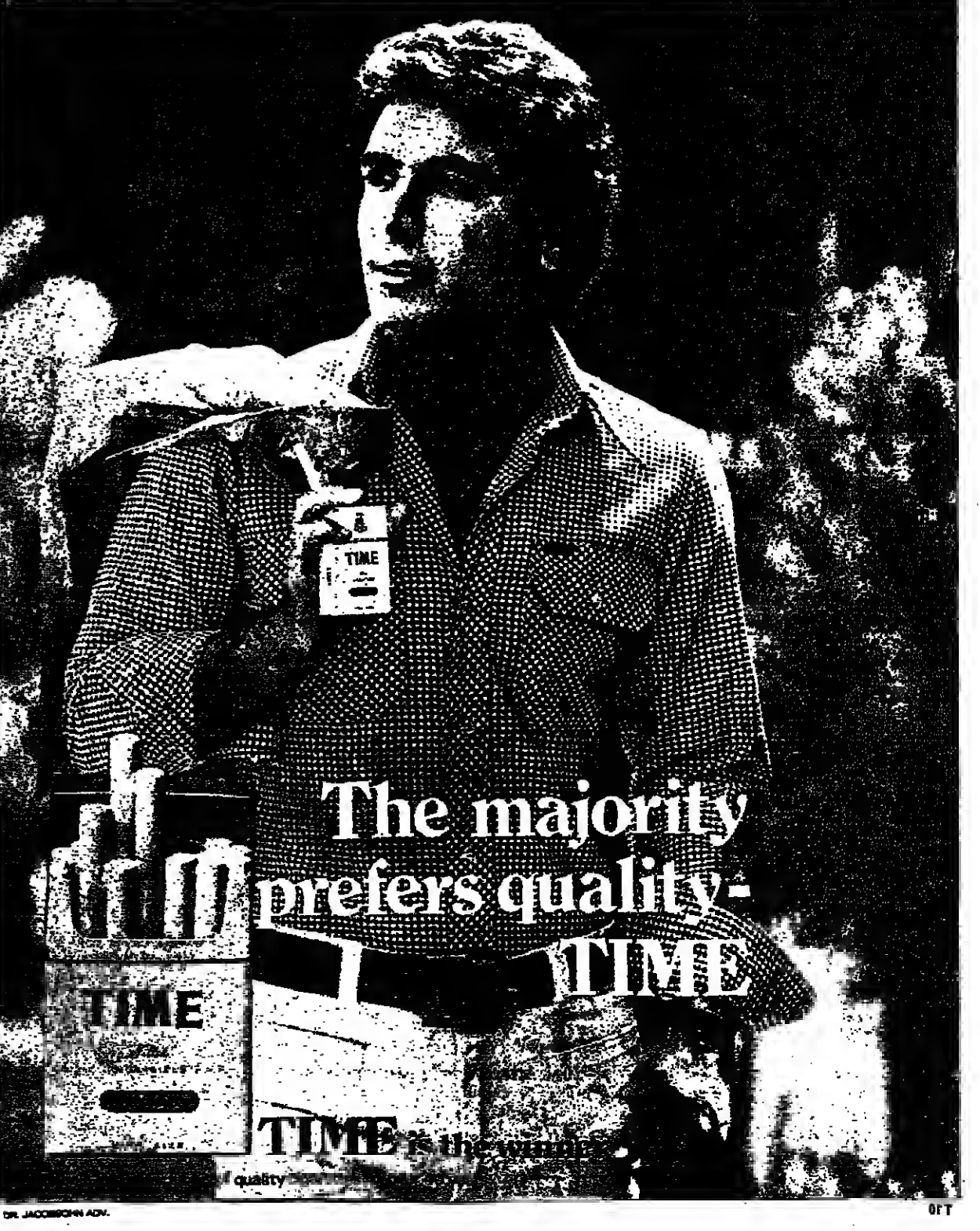
BRUSSELS. — Defence ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) yesterday approved a sweeping programme to build up the alliance in face of an "increasingly offensive" Soviet military expansion. In effect, the ministers fully endorsed proposals made by President Carter at the NATO summit in London last week.

U.S. Secretary of Defence Harold Brown said here yesterday decisions by the U.S. and its allies to strengthen their forces are a signal to Moscow that they mean to deter any threat and to prevent Soviet bullying.

Brown spoke to reporters after he and the other ministers agreed to aim at an annual increase of 3 per cent in military spending over this cost of inflation.

## U.S. wiretap bill

WASHINGTON (UPI). — The Administration proposed legislation yesterday to require a court order before a president could place wiretaps on any individual or group to gather foreign intelligence within the U.S. The bill would cover all types of electronic surveillance.









## Flatto hopes MK status will help him in France

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT  
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Millionaire property-spectator Samuel Flatto Sharon, who is wanted in France for fraud, said yesterday that he hoped his election to the Knesset on Tuesday will help him reach a settlement with the French authorities.

(France requested his extradition in January on the fraud charges. Flatto, who established residence in Israel in 1971, was sentenced in 1975 in absentia to five years in prison by a French court on other fraud and corruption charges.)

Asked to comment on reports that he had bribed voters in Tuesday's Knesset elections, Flatto told a press conference here: "I think the question is unfair and insulting. The chairman of the Central Elections Committee, Justice Elihu Mann, rejected all (pre-election) claims about buying votes."

As to his role in the Knesset, Flatto said that Likud premiership candidate Menachem Begin "will have to invite me if he wants to solve Israel's economic problems."

"The positions of prime minister and defence minister must be in the hands of politically experienced people; but I hope that social and economic ministries will be entrusted to technocrats," Flatto told reporters.

Flatto said he met the Likud's campaign manager, Ezer Weizman, several days ago. "We're old friends," the millionaire said. But he added that they had not discussed the future coalition. "Even Mr. Weizman, despite his optimism, didn't expect such a victory," Flatto said.

The millionaire said the issue of outgoing Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's illegal \$18,000 U.S. bank account — which brought about Rabin's downfall — had been exaggerated to such an extent that "it



Samuel Flatto Sharon gives his mother a kiss in his Savoyon home Tuesday night on learning of his election to the Knesset. She sports a Flatto campaign tee-shirt.

caused people to smile. "Israel is not as corrupt as the media depict it," he told the press conference.

## Rakah didn't do as well as expected

By YOEL DAR  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAZARETH. — Representatives of the Rakah (Communist)-dominated Democratic Front expressed satisfaction yesterday at their increased vote in the Arab sector, which was responsible for the 50 per cent rise in their Knesset representation from four to six seats.

But the Communists had expected to do even better, hoping to win about eight seats.

In Shfar'am, the front polled a full 90 per cent of the vote, and in Tamra 75 per cent. But in Nazareth, the country's largest Arab city, the front polled only 62 per cent. Though this represents an 8 per cent rise over the 1973 elections, it is 7 per cent less than the Communists polled in the municipal elections a year and a half ago, when they captured the town.

The front did not do well in the smaller villages, and its leaders were less than elated at the results; but they put their best face forward to outsiders, claiming that the vote for them expressed the Arab citizens' protest against "discrimination and the government's warlike policies." They also explained the Likud's rise as a protest vote by Jewish voters, but expressed concern that a Likud government would endanger Jewish-Arab relations and prospects for peace.

(Only one purely Arab party, the United Arab List headed by MK Selim Dini Zuhbi, passed the minimum required and will get either one or two seats, as against their present three. Two other Arab lists did not pass the minimum.)

The director of the Labour Party's Arab Department, Ra'anan Cohen, said that "under the circumstances," the Arab vote had been an "achievement," and had included 8,000 votes given directly to the Alignment, despite the "vicious propaganda" of Rakah.

Perhaps the most surprising result was the over 16,000 Arab votes gleaned by the NRP. This is considered a major achievement in view of the "Koenig Memorandum," which caused such a stir among the Arabs last year. (Yisrael Koenig, the Interior Ministry's northern district representative, issued a controversial memorandum on limiting Arab development in Galilee. Koenig is an NRP member.)

Shelli, which tried hard to penetrate the Arab sector, won only a negligible number of votes — in Nazareth, for instance, it got only 1 per cent, no more than the Likud.

In the Druse vote, Deputy Minister of Agriculture Sheikh Jaber Mnadi pulled 5,000 votes. But as he was in third place on the United Arab list, he will lose his long-held Knesset seat. Nevertheless, the Druse will have three members in the new Knesset, as against only two in the outgoing house. Two of the three will be new members: The DMC's Shadi Assad Azam of Beit Jann village and Atsiah Zaidan of Iaffa. The Likud's Kamal Nasser e-Din of Dailat al-Carmel returns for a second term. There will be eight or nine non-Jewish members in the new house.



DMC leaders on election night, watch the results on TV. From left to right, Akiva Nof, Stef Werthelmer, Yoram Alster, Shmuel Tamir, Meir Amit, and, seated, Yigael Yadin.

(Gutmann)

## EXPERT SAYS SCANDALS DIDN'T TIP THE SCALES

### Labour lost long before Tuesday

By JUDY SIEGEL  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Labour was slipping in the voter's esteem even before it became tainted with scandal, and the Likud's platform in internal matters cost Labour votes from citizens who support its foreign policy — a pollster who correctly predicted the election results told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

As most professional pollsters spent the morning after the elections analysing why their predictions were wrong, two experts were able to say "I told you so." One was Mina Tzemah of the Civil Information Institute. She predicted in the financial journal "Ma'ariv" on Sunday that the Likud would get 49 seats, compared to 30 for the Alignment and 14 for the DMC.

The other was the Israel Institute for Applied Social Research. "We were the first public opinion research organization to forecast a winning Likud trend," said Prof. Louis Guttmann, director of the institute, which released its most recent poll last week. "When the results became known, we were surprised by the extent that the trend continued," he told *The Post*, "but not by the announcement of the winner. It was there in the graphs; we just had to recognize it."

The institute staff has personally interviewed a total of some 80,000 citizens — all residents of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa and Beer-sheva — since Yitzhak Rabin became premier in 1974, with 500 to 800 sampled every week. The question on party preference was only one query in their regular continuing survey.

A study of the charted hills and valleys of public opinion shows that the "worst" personal scandals that tainted the Labour Party did not affect the trend. Prof. Guttmann says. It was on the way down even before Rabin went to the U.S. to visit Carter and Lea Rabin visited her Washington bank.

The Likud first broke through the Alignment barrier in early March, shortly before the prime minister's U.S. trip, and was neck-and-neck since then, rising steadily above the Alignment after April 26. Whether Rabin or Peres headed the list, asserted the 61-year-old expert, it would have made no difference.

The percentage of undecided, "no vote" and "no comment" voters was very high before the elections, according to Prof. Guttmann's charts. Most of the undecided felt the same way about foreign policy as those who said they'd vote for the Alignment. On domestic policy, most of the undecided supported the positions favoured by Likud voters. Thus, he concluded, the interval problems swayed the undecided vote and helped the Likud.

The millions of pounds spent by the parties on campaign propaganda were a waste of money, he continued. It did, however, "preserve the freedom of the press by putting money in newspapers' bank accounts."

Prof. Guttmann also doubts whether the Begin-Peres debate had any effect on the elections' outcome.

He had warm praise for the efforts of TV House in covering the returns. Its use of statistician Hanoach Smith and the British TV system of counting votes dropped in mock ballot boxes in 25 polling stations selected as a representative sample was "the safest thing to do." As long as the stations chosen were representative, he said, you'd have to get accurate results.

The professor refused to comment on specific polls conducted by others that fell far from the mark. "But it shows that some questions must be asked about private polling."

His crystal ball computers cannot predict which parties will form a government coalition. "The voters," he said, "are now helpless. From now on, everything is in the hands of the politicians."

Lea Levavi adds from Tel Aviv: Another pollster said opinion polls are never "wrong." Rafael Gil of Post Research Associates, when asked why pre-election polls had predicted a Labour Alignment victory, said: "The trouble is that people look at polls as if they were forecasts."

"The poll is accurate only at the moment it is taken. If something happens between the poll and the election — the helicopter disaster or the television debate, for instance — the whole picture can change," he said.

If the polls cannot forecast election results, what is the point of publishing them?

"The newspapers pressure us for them because it's a game everyone likes to play...I have never been in favour of publishing these polls in the press, because I think their only valid function is to give the parties material about what the public is thinking at the moment the poll is taken," Gil said.

His firm, however, prepared the polls published in "Ha'aretz." "I'll tell you honestly why we did it. We work on a yearly contract with 'Ha'aretz' and we can't refuse to do pre-election polls when it's 'hot news,' since we do polls all year on what people think about the borders, or about President Carter. The difference is that Israel's don't vote for Carter and so they can't 'testus' by comparing yesterday's poll to today's election results."

A researcher at the Dahaf Research Institute was willing to admit the polls had been wrong — possibly because his firm did not publish polls in the press, but prepared them only for the Alignment. The researcher said some of the errors are statistical — i.e., the way "undecided" votes are divided up among the parties in guessing at the number of seats each party will receive, or the coefficient used to make an educated statistical guess about public opinion in kibbutzim or Arab villages, where the pollsters do not penetrate.

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## David Hacohen: "We deserved electoral slap"

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HATIFA. — "The voters punished the Alignment, and we deserved it; but they did not think their vote through all the way, and they have made the political future of Israel very difficult," Labour Party veteran David Hacohen told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

Hacohen, 79, who has been a Labour Party stalwart for 57 years, said his party deserved its defeat because of the corruption that had spread under its long rule.

"Let's not ignore the great things the party achieved, bringing in nearly two million immigrants and absorbing them and developing our agriculture and industry to a high standard. But at the same time we allowed corruption to grow. We allowed crime to flourish, a mafia to establish itself and spread the use of drugs through our society, from schools up. The voters were fed up with the regime's inability to regain control over the deteriorating domestic situation," Hacohen said.

"I must concede that the voters were right to punish us, and I believe that the 14 DMC candidates voted into office are as good as the 14 candidates at the top of our list. In addition they are clean and are not responsible for the deterioration. But now it will be difficult to form a government," he said.

"I know Menachem Begin well and I consider him a good friend. I do not consider him a demagogue, but rather an idealist and a man of emotions. On the subject of the territories his emotions are as strong as those of Rabbis Kahane and Levinger — and indeed some of the people in the Labour Party — but this is not conducive to peace. It will be hard to work for peace if a priori the premier tells the Arabs that the territories are not up for discussion. This may create difficulties in our relations with the U.S. We must not assume America is in our pocket," Hacohen said.

He said he could not see much chance for Begin to form a national unity government on the basis of his programme.

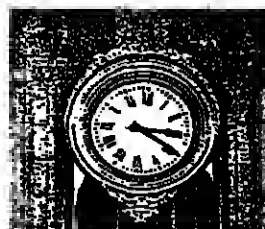
"If he gave up his principles on the territories, I would not mind the Alignment having lost power," Hacohen added.

"I regret our failure at the polls, but I am not sorry at the slap in the face we got. We deserved it if only for our election propaganda that was an insult to a cultured people, and the millions we wasted on it, which was a scandal that deserved punishment."

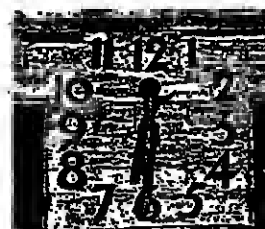
## As you will have guessed, this is an advertisement of the Swiss national airline.



Amsterdam Every day at 11:05 hours, the clock at the Mini Tower indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 17:45, 21:15, and 22:05.



Barcelona Every day at 15:20 hours, the clock at the Tower Hall indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 16:30.



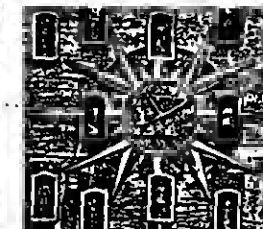
Basel Seventy-seven times every week, the clock at the Spalentor indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for 11 destinations.



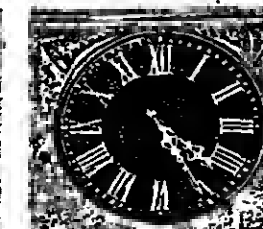
Belgrade Every day at 15:20 hours, the clock at the Kula Tower of Kalemegdan Fortress indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



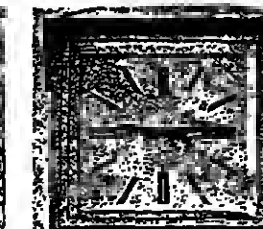
Berne Every day at 05:20 hours, the clock Tower indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Zurich. And also at 05:30, 09:00, 10:00, 12:00, 14:25, 15:50, 17:00, and 19:30.



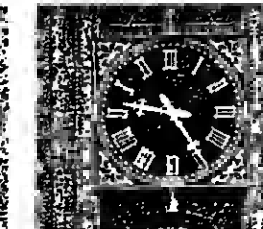
Brussels Every day at 11:10 hours, the clock of Mont des Arts indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 16:50, 21:20, and 22:05.



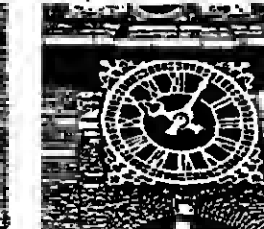
Bucharest Every Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday at 16:25 hours, the clock at the Ministry of Agriculture in the center of Bucharest indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



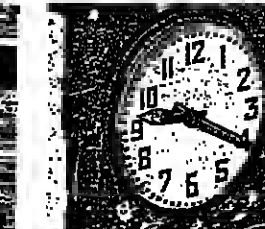
Budapest Every day at 09:15 hours, the clock at the Pest and the Margaret Bridge indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



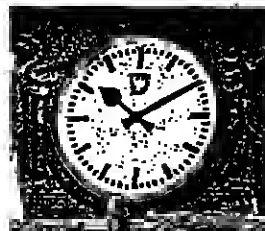
Cologne Six times every week at 09:25 hours, the clock at the City Hall indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



Copenhagen Every day at 10:05 hours, the clock of Our Saviour's Church indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 12:15 and 16:55.



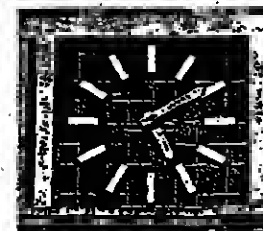
Dusseldorf Every day at 08:20 hours, the Water Gauge Clock on the Rhine indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 13:25, 16:20, and 20:05.



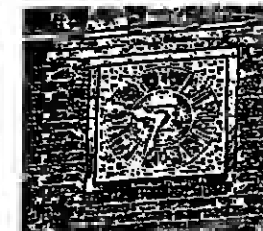
Frankfurt Every day at 10:10 hours, the Little Clock Tower indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 16:25, 20:50, and 21:00.



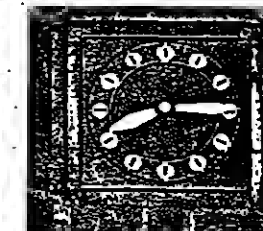
Geneva Three hundred and twenty-four times every week, the Flower Clock indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for 61 destinations.



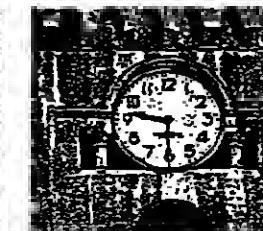
Genoa Six times every week at 17:00 hours, the clock of the Grattacielo indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



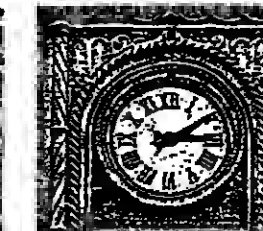
Hamburg Every day at 09:35 hours, the clock of the Town Hall indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



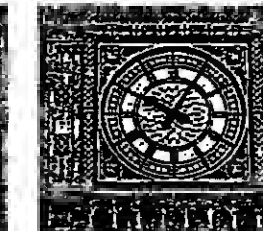
Helsinki Every day at 08:15 hours, the clock on the Railway Station indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



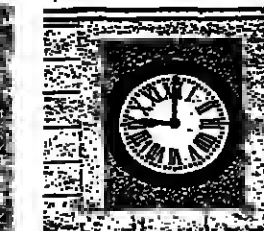
Istanbul Every day at 09:30 hours, the clock on the portal of the University Gardens indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also every Friday at 18:00 and every Sunday at 15:50.



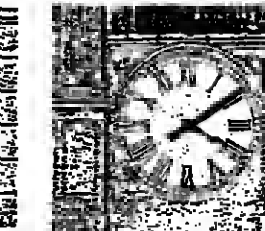
Ussan Every day at 15:10 hours, the clock at the Rossio Railway Station indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



London Every day at 10:05 hours, the clock of the Portico Sol indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 11:10, 15:05, 15:55, 19:55, 20:00, and five times every week at 22:00.



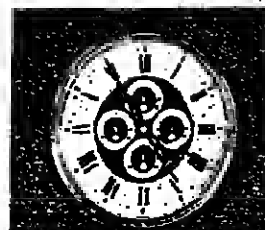
Madrid Every day at 08:00 hours, the clock of the Puerta del Sol indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 16:50.



Malaga Five times every week at 15:10 hours, the clock of the Cathedral indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



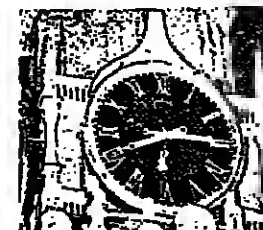
Manchester Every day at 09:15 hours, the clock of the Town Hall indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



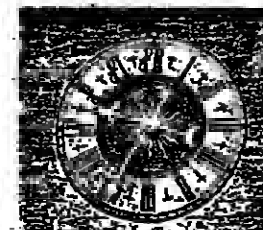
Marseille Every day at 16:55 hours, the clock at the Palais de la Bourse indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



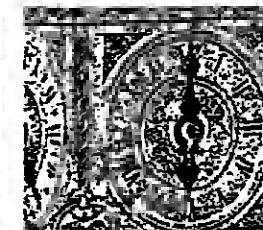
Milan Every day at 09:50 hours, the clock at the Central Station indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 13:10, 16:35, and 20:15.



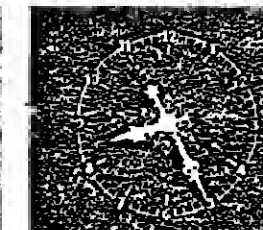
Moscow Every Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday at 09:45 hours, the clock in the Kremlin Tower indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



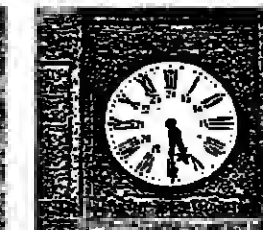
Munich Every day at 09:35 hours, the clock of the Town Hall indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 13:10 and 20:20.



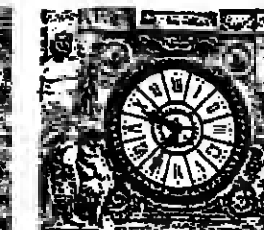
Nice Every day at 18:00 hours, the clock of the Saint-François Tower indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 20:45.



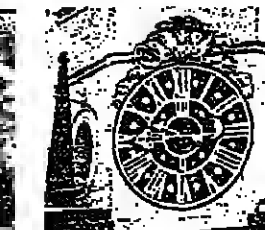
Oslo Every day at 08:25 hours, the clock of the Town Hall indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



Palma de Mallorca Every day at 17:30 hours, the clock of the Town Hall indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



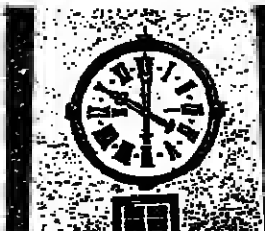
Paris Every day at 09:35 hours, the clock at the Hôtel de Clugny indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also ten times every day.



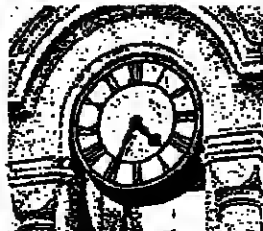
Pregue Six times every week at 09:45 hours, the clock of the Loreto Church indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



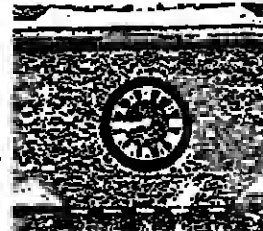
Rome Every day at 08:50 hours, the water clock at Villa Borghese indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 09:30, 14:30, and 20:15.



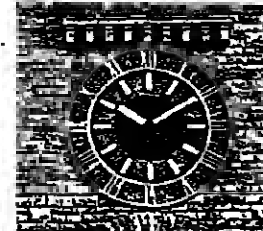
Salzburg Every day at 10:00 hours, the clock at the Town Hall indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



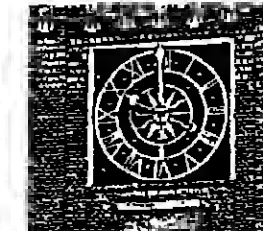
Sofia Every Tuesday and Friday at 16:35 hours, the clock at the Central Hall indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



Stockholm Every day at 08:45 hours, the clock of the Riddarholm Church indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



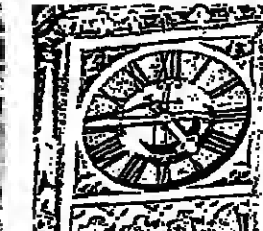
Stuttgart Every day at 10:10 hours, the clock at the Central Station indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 13:35 and 20:30.



Vienna Every day at 09:25 hours, the clock of the St. Stephen's Cathedral indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 13:25 and 20:30.



Warsaw Every Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday at 16:50 hours, the clock at the Kings Palace indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also every Friday at 16:50.



Zagreb Every day at 16:45 hours, the clock at the Cathedral of St. Peter indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



Zurich Five hundred and eleven times every week, the clock of St. Peter's indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for 84 destinations.

Your IATA travel agency or Swissair will gladly give you further information, particularly about the best connecting flights to our world-wide route network.







Police stand guard but seem unable to prevent the crush as election committeemen turn in their ballot boxes at the Van Leer Foundation in Jerusalem early yesterday morning. (Rahamim Yisrael)

## Man-in-the-street reeling from results

By YITZHAK OKED  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Citizens here reacted in shock and restraint, as if they had just come through a battle, as they were asked to react to the election results which gave the Likud the first victory in its history.

Instead of answering questions they asked reporters what will happen now that Menachem Begin looks like the new prime minister.

A young Egged driver, whose father is an Alignment official, said he voted for the Likud for the first time because he believed Labour had to be punished. He said the Alignment lost mainly because it had not done enough to stop inflation and to cleanse the political air in the country.

An 86-year-old pensioner, once a bank manager and veteran Mapai member, said he was pleased with the results, but only if the Likud made a coalition with the Alignment.

Alignment supporter Ze'ev "Doc" Meirovitch, one of the regular political kibitzers at the Parliament office house opposite city hall in Rishon LeZion, said: "I think we received what we deserved, and I believe that it will be very good for us to sit in the opposition for four

years. This will give us a chance to reorganize ourselves. And then back to power."

Concern by Parliament regulars was whether Labour would also lose heavily in the Hittadrut elections. In the central municipal garden in Rishon LeZion, which is crowded in the morning with nannies, there were two distinct camps. The elderly nannies discussed Begin, and the younger nannies seemed deep in discussion about Samuel Flato Sharon — how handsome he is, what his chances for extradition are now, and what a pity that he hadn't put his wife No. 2 on his list, so that she could have gone into the Knesset with him.

Moshe Ziskovitch, a quality-control employee, said he had voted in the three previous elections for the Alignment but switched this time because he felt that the Alignment had to be punished for the economic scandals and for letting working people down.

A Dan bus driver said that he was pleased with the results, because the secretary of his cooperative was 43 on the Alignment list. "Had he been elected it would have been a terrible blow to our cooperative," he said.

Zvi Rieger of Bat Yam said, "Governments have been changed throughout the world, so why not in Israel? The huddling firm I'm in has been hard hit because of the economic situation. Maybe with this new government we will be coming out of the slump."

Aharon Gabai, who works in a dry-cleaning shop on Dizengoff Street, said, "This is just wonderful. I believe that this change came just in time. I believe that Begin had it coming to him, after all these long years that he has been working for this country."

Miriam Silverberg, a shop owner, said: "This is the price of democracy, and I think the Alignment deserved what it got."

Mrs. Ruth Avraham, a housekeeper, was pleased with the results. "The Alignment didn't scare me and I think their propaganda was aimed at a very low level."

One young soldier said that he was pleased, mainly because "maybe now I will not have to leave the country after I finish my army service." He hoped that the political climate would be such that youngsters like him would find a challenge in developing the country.

## Arab misgivings about Likud government

(Continued from page 1)

much difference to us who is at the helm in Israel."

Syria said yesterday the Middle East will drift towards a fifth war as a result of the election victory of the Likud.

State-controlled radios in both Syria and Iraq called Likud leader Menachem Begin a "notorious terrorist" who "advocates the establishment of a greater Israel at the expense of Arab territory."

Other government-controlled radios in the Arab world, including

those of oil-rich Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, said the Likud victory was a setback for U.S. President Jimmy Carter's peace-making efforts.

"Begin is an extremist with whom the Arabs may not be willing to negotiate," said the Saudi state radio.

"There is no doubt that Arab willingness to negotiate is now minimized," said Iraq's radio. "Begin is a terrorist who is opposed to the establishment of a Palestinian state on the Israeli border."

Jordanian newspapers yesterday

reflected the belief that the outcome of the election would lead to any change in the Israeli attitude to the Middle East crisis. But Jordan's Information Minister, Adnan Abu Odeh, said the victory of the Likud had dampened hopes for a Middle East peace.

In a press statement commenting on the election results, he said a party "known for its intransigence" had come to power in Israel at a time when efforts were being made to achieve peace in the Middle East. (UPI, AP, Reuters)

# The election results

## Cities and towns

JERUSALEM AREA: Lik 55,061, Align 22,748, DMC 14,644, NRP 15,290, Aguda 13,052, Poalei Ag 2,965, DFP 657, Shlomz 705, ILP 1,057, Flat- to 1,888, Shell 3,045, CRM 1,580.

TEL AVIV: Lik 82,482, Align 51,991, DMC 29,835, NRP 14,990, Aguda 5,963, Poalei Ag 1,640, DFP 2,385, Shlomz 4,423, ILP 3,154, Flatto 4,500, Shell 4,092, CRM 3,234.

HAIFA: Lik 37,505, Align 38,378, DMC 24,149, NRP 7,582, Aguda 2,013, Poalei Ag 2,092, DFP 2,329, Shlomz 3,423, ILP 1,682, Flatto 2,621, Shell 2,163, CRM 1,976.

HAIFA CARMEL: Lik 24,991, Align 22,727, DMC 10,253, NRP 6,349, Aguda 1,634, Poalei Ag 1,217, DFP 612, Shlomz 2,048, ILP 1,196, Flatto 2,151, Shell 878, CRM 678.

BEER SHEVA: Lik 8,513, Align 8,266, DMC 4,119, NRP 2,405, Aguda 1,032, Poalei Ag 478, DFP 114, Shlomz 498, ILP 230, Flatto 553, Shell 488, CRM 337.

ARAD: Lik 1,178, Align 948, DMC 633, NRP 110, Aguda 38, Poalei Ag 6, DFP 9, Shlomz 157, ILP 62, Flatto 89, Shell 70, CRM 70.

BE'ER ANAN: Lik 3,220, Align 1,704, DMC 316, NRP 216, Aguda 20, Poalei Ag 11, DFP 13, Shlomz 141, ILP 69, Flatto 113, Shell 141, CRM 109.

BISHON LEZION: Lik 13,602, Align 9,262, DMC 4,514, NRP 2,313, Aguda 612, Poalei Ag 245, DFP 81, Shlomz 886, ILP 241, Flatto 935, Shell 433, CRM 363.

BAT YAM: Lik 23,445, Align 15,377, DMC 4,338, NRP 3,759, Aguda 608, Poalei Ag 153, DFP 313, Shlomz 1,483, ILP 337, Flatto 1,802, Shell 883, CRM 916.

DMONA: Lik 4,488, Align 2,228, DMC 423, NRP 1,287, Aguda 378, Poalei Ag 24, DFP 20, Shlomz 280, ILP 71, Flatto 1,373, Shell 61, CRM 65.

CARMEL: Lik 1,202, Align 1,089, DMC 209, NRP 148, Aguda 27, Poalei Ag 14, DFP 8, Shlomz 83, ILP 84, Flatto 124, Shell 94, CRM 45.

ACRE: Lik 5,780, Align 3,822, DMC 210, NRP 1,034, Aguda 430, Poalei Ag 258, DFP 2,433, Shlomz 278, ILP 78, Flatto 483, Shell 85, CRM 81.

METULA: Lik 28,386, Align 41,62, DMC 10,385, NRP 4,077, Aguda 4,332, Shlomz 5,88, ILP 90, Shell 4.

KIRYAT ABRA: Lik 188, Align 7, DMC 3, NRP 188, Aguda 5, Poalei Ag 17, Shlomz 18, ILP 2, Flatto 1.

NETANYA: Lik 954, Align 514, DMC 11, NRP 114, Aguda 34, Poalei Ag 17, DFP 3, Shlomz 30, ILP 9, Flatto 37, Shell 2, CRM 1.

ROSH PINA: Lik 134, Align 177, DMC 79, NRP 33, Aguda 4, Poalei Ag 1, DFP 1, Shlomz 14, ILP 2, Shell 5, CRM 6.

KIRYAT TIVON: Lik 1,287, Align

188, DMC 1,424, NRP 348, Aguda 12, Poalei Ag 15, DFP 14, Shlomz 130, ILP 78, Flatto 89, Shell 108, CRM 100.

ZICHRON YA'ACOV: Lik 886, Align 697, DMC 305, NRP 240, Aguda 108, Poalei Ag 10, DFP 4, Shlomz 83, ILP 3, Flatto 26, Shell 15, CRM 7.

SARFAT: Lik 2,498, Align 1,834, DMC 364, NRP 580, Aguda 538, Poalei Ag 126, DFP 11, Shlomz 81, ILP 25, Flatto 103, Shell 20, CRM 22.

KIRYAT BIALIK: Lik 3,645, Align 3,197, DMC 2,448, NRP 760, Aguda 183, Poalei Ag 84, DFP 20, Shlomz 342, ILP 178, Flatto 351, Shell 179, CRM 188.

PARDES HANNA: Lik 2,699, Align 1,886, DMC 730, NRP 1,231, Aguda 313, Poalei Ag 62, DFP 11, Shlomz 111, ILP 208, Flatto 140, Shell 61, CRM 54.

OR ANAN: Lik 1,207, Align 954, DMC 47, NRP 578, Aguda 150, Poalei Ag 6, DFP 3, Shlomz 86, ILP 132, Flatto 45, Shell 4, CRM 11.

OR YERUSA: Lik 3,608, Align 880, DMC 160, NRP 577, Aguda 90, Poalei Ag 173, DFP 89, Shlomz 124, ILP 48, Flatto 88, Shell 82, CRM 32.

AZOUR: Lik 908, Align 958, DMC 228, NRP 540, Aguda 35, Poalei Ag 14, DFP 11, Shlomz 82, ILP 47, Flatto 58, Shell 32, CRM 24.

KIRYAT YAM: Lik 4,567, Align 3,809, DMC 1,263, NRP 1,176, Aguda 368, Poalei Ag 172, DFP 47, Shlomz 388, ILP 181, Flatto 613, Shell 141, CRM 153.

KIRYAT ONO: Lik 3,386, Align 2,896, DMC 1,789, NRP 812, Aguda 303, Poalei Ag 51, DFP 37, Shlomz 189, ILP 80, Flatto 197, Shell 168, CRM 162.

BEIT SHEMEH: Lik 2,349, Align 880, DMC 176, NRP 376, Aguda 204, Poalei Ag 558, DFP 4, Shlomz 32, ILP 20, Flatto 128, Shell 23, CRM 24.

GEDESA: Lik 846, Align 829, DMC 108, NRP 613, Aguda 106, Poalei Ag 33, DFP 4, Shlomz 42, ILP 16, Flatto 28, Shell 11, CRM 13.

BEER YA'ACOV: Lik 692, Align 351, DMC 10, NRP 132, Aguda 254, Poalei Ag 3, DFP 3, Shlomz 10, ILP 7, Flatto 31, Shell 18, CRM 8.

HATZOR HAGILIT: Lik 927, Align 479, DMC 38, NRP 528, Aguda 41, Poalei Ag 12, Shlomz 24, ILP 4, Flatto 34, Shell 2, CRM 16.

MITZPE RAMON: Lik 160, Align 250, DMC 46, NRP 129, Aguda 4, Poalei Ag 2, Shlomz 2, ILP 4, Flatto 3, CRM 6.

BEERSHEBA: Lik 16,885, Align 9,788, DMC 4,984, NRP 4,380, Aguda 1,766, Poalei Ag 871, DFP 85, Shlomz 729, ILP 360, Flatto 1,409, Shell 407, CRM 497.

## Moshavim, kibbutzim and other villages

MARAB: Lik 7, Align 148, DMC 178, NRP 172, Aguda 8, Poalei Ag 7, DFP 1123, Shlomz 19, Flatto 3, Shell 11, UAL 349, CRM 7.

KAFA KAMA: Lik 2, Align 317, DMC 56, NRP 70, Aguda 1, DFP 40, Shlomz 38, Flatto 3, Shell 98, CRM 6.

DALIAH AL CARMEL: Lik 679, Align 621, DMC 226, NRP 2, Poalei Ag 1, DFP 280, Shlomz 36, ILP 113, Flatto 2, Shell 19, UAL 408.

DEIR AL ASSAD: Lik 83, Align 6, DMC 167, NRP 35, Poalei Ag 6, DFP 392, Shlomz 3, Flatto 1, CRM 8, UAL 209.

ABU JU'AD: Lik 1, Align 4, Aguda 4, DFP 6, ILP 5, Flatto 6, CRM 2, UAL 770.

JEDIDA: Lik 15, Align 19, NRP 111, DFP 249, Shlomz 3, UAL 20.

SHEARIM: Lik 59, Align 133, DMC 138, NRP 90, Aguda 2, Poalei Ag 2, DFP 3388, Shlomz 10, ILP 71, Flatto 27, Shell 1, UAL 268.

OUSIFIA: Lik 133, Align 397, DMC 630, NRP 38, Aguda 1, DFP 287, Shlomz 1, ILP 36, Flatto 3, Shell 13, UAL 305.

ARARA: Lik 150, Align 56, DMC 89, NRP 90, Aguda 1, Poalei Ag 1, DFP 487, ILP 28, Flatto 21, Shell 125, UAL 975.

ARAT: Lik 7, Align 41, DMC 35, NRP 44, Poalei Ag 1, DFP 249, ILP 1, Flatto 44, Shell 129, CRM 2, UAL 122.

YARBEA: Lik 185, Align 196, DMC 287, NRP 45, Aguda 2, Poalei Ag 1, DFP 426, Shlomz 25, ILP 55, Flatto 34, Shell 29, CRM 5, UAL 538.

ILABUN: Align 196, DMC 1, NRP 42, Aguda 2, DFP 505, Shlomz 3, ILP 10, Flatto 10, UAL 30.

AL-HUZELI TRIBE: Lik 2, Align 54, DMC 2, Aguda 1, DFP 4, Flatto 1, UAL 49, CRM 1.

KAFA TAMARA: Lik 16, Align 54, DMC 70, NRP 90, Aguda 4, Poalei Ag 1, DFP 2632, Shlomz 2, ILP 202, Flatto 2, Shell 2, CRM 62.

BAKERNY: Lik 138, Align 204, DMC 150, NRP 16, Aguda 3, Poalei Ag 1, DFP 2,360, Shell 3, UAL 157, Arab Reform Movement 117, CRM 30.

KAFA AB'ABA: Lik 2, Align 37, DMC 13, NRP 20, Aguda 2, Poalei Ag 3, DFP 1,501, Shlomz 5, ILP 35, Flatto 3, Arab Reform Movement 76, CRM 2.

ASHEBARA: Lik 1, Align 5, DMC 1, DFP 1, ILP 1, Flatto 1, UAL 124, CRM 10.

TAIBER: Lik 7, Align 45, DMC 4, NRP 34, Aguda 4, Poalei Ag 4, DFP 1,727, Shlomz 1, ILP 21, Shell 296, Coexistence With Justice 104, UAL 154, CRM 12.

GUSE HALAV: Lik 60, Align 214, DMC 23, NRP 49, DFP 167, Shlomz 7, ILP 70, Flatto 2, Shell 14, CRM 1.

ABU S'ANAN: Lik 41, Align 38, DMC 112, NRP 197, Aguda 1, Poalei Ag 3, DFP 910, Shlomz 1, ILP 2, UAL 443.

GESHER HAZIV (Ihud): Align 181, DMC 30, NRP 1, Aguda 1, Shlomz 1, ILP 6, Flatto 1, CRM 2.

GATON (Artzi): Align 142, DMC 2, NRP 2, Shell 11, Flatto 3, Align 191, DMC 11, Flatto 1, Shell 26, CRM 4.

NA'AN: Lik 18, Align 532, DMC 89, NRP 5, Aguda 1, DFP 2, ILP 5, Flatto 2, Shell 12, CRM 10.

NITZANIM: Lik 5, Align 37, DMC 20, Shlomz 1, ILP 138, Shell 2, CRM 2.

RAMAT DAVID: Lik 4, Align 137, DMC 38, Shlomz 1, Shell 7, CRM 3.

MOLEDET: Lik 25, Align 154, DMC 102, NRP 3, DMC 4, ILP 1, Shell 2, CRM 3.

SIDE ELIYAHU: Lik 30, Align 8, DMC 4, NRP 174, Aguda 3, Shlomz 5, ILP 1, CRM 1.

KEBEM SHALOM (Artzi): Lik 1, Align 9, DFP 9, Shell 31.

SEAR ELUM (Ihud): Lik 5, Align 280, DMC 49, NRP 4, Flatto 1, Shell 1, CRM 12.

MAGEN (Artzi): Align 85, DMC 2, Shell 82, CRM 5.

NIRIM (Artzi): Lik 1, Align 133, DMC 3, ILP 12, Shell 12.

HIRAT ZION: Lik 50, Align 88, DMC 19, NRP 75, Shlomz 4, ILP 6.

HELETZ: Lik 27, Align 156, NRP 43, Aguda 2, Poalei Ag 6, DFP 1, Shlomz 3, Flatto 1.

MISHMAR HANECEV: Lik 5, Align 253, DMC 12, NRP 2, DFP 1, Shlomz 4, Shell 15, CRM 13.

BEER YA'ACOV: Lik 692, Align 351, DMC 10, NRP 132, Aguda 254, Poalei Ag 3, DFP 3, Shlomz 10, ILP 7, Flatto 31, Shell 18, CRM 8.

GIYAT BRENNER (Meuhad): Lik 12, Align 367, DMC 37, NRP 3, Shlomz 3, ILP 4, Flatto 3, Shell 15, CRM 40.

NIR ZVI: Lik 46, Align 69, DMC 122, NRP 47, DFP 1, Shlomz 3, ILP 7, Flatto 6, Shell 12, CRM 5.

MA'AGAN MICHAEL: Lik 5, Align 390, DMC 94, Flatto 1, Shell 32, CRM 2.

URIM: Lik 6, Align 139, DMC 39, Shlomz 1, ILP 1, Shell 19, CRM 7.

HAGOSHIM (Meuhad): Lik 5, Align 219, DMC 11, NRP 1, ILP 1, Flatto 6, Shell 5.

DAN (Artzi) (Lik 0.3, Align 91.78, DMC 1.75, Shell 5.35, CRM 0.3).

GONEN (Ihud) (Lik 6.08, Align 31.98, DMC 34.78, Shell 8.09, CRM 6.65).

DEFA (Meuhad) (Lik 1.35, Align 87, DMC 5.18, Shell 2.83, CRM 1.81).

YITZAH (Ihud) (Lik 6.83, Align 55.89, DMC 21.16, NRP 2.15, Shell 0.72, CRM 3.62).

SHAMIR (Artzi) (Lik 0.82, Align 88.59, DMC 1.30, NRP 0.32, Aguda 1.32, Shell 7.51, CRM 1.30).

LEZA VOT SHARON (Lik 0.7, Align 0.57, DMC 0.76, ILP 0.73, Shell 15.38, CRM 0.75).

YAMIT (Lik 21.7, Align 21.7, DMC 28.1, NRP 6.7).

MISGAV-AM (Meuhad) (Lik 4.39, Align 74.72, DMC 7.90, NRP 1.09, Shell 8.79, CRM 1.09).

KFAH GHILADI: Lik 0.94, Align 83.72, DMC 1.5, NRP 0.27, ILP 0.54, Flatto 0.27, Shell 1.54, CRM 1.54.

MANABA (Meuhad) (Lik 0.76, Align 80.76, DMC 13.07, Shlomz 0.76, Shell 4.61).

SELOMI: Lik 317, Align 269, DMC 52, NRP 292, Aguda 23, Poalei Ag 3, Shlomz 6, ILP 2, Flatto 12, Shell 12, CRM 1.

JALUTIA: Lik 15, Align 78, DMC 32, NRP 82, Aguda 1, DFP 265, ILP 18, Flatto 8, Shell 4, UAL 192.

MALKIA (Meuhad) (Lik 20.5, Align 84.38, DMC 7.58, Shell 5.47, UAL 192).

KFAH HANASSI (Ihud): Lik 4, Align 190, DMC 26, NRP 1, ILP 2, Shell 20, CRM 5.

FORAT: Lik 54, Align 6, DMC 3, NRP 269, Aguda 14, Poalei Ag 1, Shlomz 4, ILP 2, Flatto 12.

YAVNEEL: Lik 24, Align 186, DMC 32, NRP 120, DFP 1, Shlomz 11, ILP 6, Flatto 5, Shell 1, CRM 6.

SARID: Lik 2, Align 860, DMC 17, Shlomz 1, ILP 1, Shell 17, CRM 3.

SEAR YASHUV (Lik 18.75, Align 8.33, DMC 4.16, NRP 5.20, Shlomz 4.16, ILP 6.35, CRM 2.08).

NAESHOLIM: Lik 7, Align 102, DMC 20, NRP 1, Flatto 1, Shell 10, CRM 4.

BEIT ZERA: (Artzi) Lik 3, Align 390, DMC 3, DFP 1, Shell 10, CRM 4.

EIN HAROD (Meuhad): Lik 15, Align 345, DMC 30, NRP 1, DFP 1, Shlomz 20, ILP 1, Flatto 1, Shell 12, CRM 7.

YAD MORECHAI: Lik 4, Align 346, DMC 4, NRP 1, Shlomz 2, Flatto 1, Shell 15, CRM 3.

GAZIT (Artzi): Lik 1, Align 272, DMC 3, Shell 13.

MISHMAR HA'EMEK: Lik 6, Align 412, DMC 20, NRP 1, Shlomz 1, ILP 1, Flatto 1, Shell 15, CRM 4.

EIN HA'EMEK: Lik 3.7, Align 89, NRP 11, Shlomz 1, Flatto 1, Shell 1, HEFTZIBAR: Lik 4, Align 249, DMC 21, Shlomz 4, ILP 2, Shell 7.

YESODOT: NRP 2, Aguda 12, Poalei Ag 162.

GAN SHMUEL (Artzi): Lik 5, Align 37



## Soviet Germans stage emigration 'invasion'

MOSCOW (Reuters). — Eight Soviet Germans fought their way past police guards into the West German Embassy here yesterday and asked for help to leave the Soviet Union.

About 25 uniformed and plainclothes police waited all day outside the mission in a quiet central Moscow street while the eight talked to West German consular officials. The ethnic Germans, all from the Soviet Central Asian republic of Kirghizia, told reporters inside the embassy that they had all been repeatedly refused permission to emigrate to West Germany.

"We do not feel at home. We want to live among German people," one of the Germans, Dmitri Driediger, said.

A ninth man was arrested in a fierce two-minute struggle with police guards who tried to stop the group entering the embassy.

The three guards were taken by surprise when the Soviet Germans marched silently across the road from a park to the mission as it was opening for the day.

The eight Germans, who belong to a community of about two million living mainly in central Asia and Siberia, said they had all renounced their Soviet citizenship in an attempt to obtain exit visas.

Jakob Schults, a spokesman for the embassy, said: "It's our last attempt — we are ready to be arrested. For us it is the last chance."

An embassy spokesman said the eight, aged between 30 and 50, spent the day discussing their cases with consular officials. It was not known how long they would remain inside the embassy, he added.

In 1974, two Soviet citizens spent the night inside the West German Embassy after police broke up a demonstration by ethnic Germans in the mission's grounds.

The Red Cross has estimated that about 200,000 of the Soviet Union's ethnic Germans wish to emigrate. A total of 9,826 left last year — the highest figure for a single year — and some 2,000 left in the first four months of this year.

The Germans, many of whom were exiled to central Asia during the Second World War, are mostly descended from settlers who came to Russia in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Last March a small group of ethnic Germans held a brief demonstration on Moscow's Red Square, for emigration rights. They were immediately arrested and sent back to the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Police guard all embassies and foreigners' apartment blocks in Moscow and subject Soviet citizens to close identity checks before allowing them to enter.

The U.S. Embassy recently protested to the foreign ministry that police guards had been preventing Soviet citizens from entering U.S. premises.

## Uganda exiles form anti-Amin unit

LONDON (AP). — Former Ugandan army officers and political leaders living in exile in Britain have formed a self-styled "undercover organization" to topple President Idi Amin, the Uganda Committee for Human Rights said yesterday.

The disclosure followed a report by the International Commission of Jurists on Tuesday that claimed between 30,000 and 50,000 persons were slaughtered in Uganda in the first two years of Amin's rule.



AGREEMENT. — U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance (left) and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko open their first bilateral disarmament talks in Geneva yesterday by signing extension of 1972 agreement for cooperation in outer space. Earlier they took part in signing of 26-nation convention banning use of man-made weather disasters in war.

## Vance, Gromyko pledge not to make waves

GENEVA (Reuters). — The U.S., the USSR and 26 other nations yesterday pledged they would never attack each other by starting man-made storms, earthquakes or tidal waves.

U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko were among the 26 special envoys here who signed a UN pact banning artificial use of the weather as a weapon of war.

UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim said the treaty, negotiated last year by the Geneva disarmament conference, was aimed at sparing mankind from "the disastrous results of new and terrible means of environmental warfare."

He said: "Arms control and disarmament are the overriding issues facing the international community."

This convention shows that governments, with all their differences and divisions, can achieve progress little by little.

The "convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques" is the first accord to emerge from the slow-moving Geneva disarmament conference for four years.

Waldheim said: "From the very first resolution passed by the General Assembly in 1946, the UN has striven to achieve the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control."

"Viewed in this long-term perspective, the convention is a modest one, for it points up that we still have far to go before we reach that goal."

## Rosebery sells 'furniture' to pay tax

MENTMORE, England (AP). — One thousand well-heeled bidders from around the world offered sky-high prices for 18th century furniture yesterday, as the sale of the fabulous Rothschild collection at Mentmore Towers broke records on its first day.

A writing desk built for Marie Antoinette was bought back by the Palace of Versailles, a Louis XV desk attracted the highest bid ever

for a piece of furniture, and a 200-year-old mechanical orange tree with singing birds went for \$153,000 to the regret of its owner, the Earl of Rosebery.

Lord Rosebery, 47, whose grandfather Baron Meyer de Rothschild assembled the collection from palaces around Europe, is selling both the 75-room, Mentmore Towers and all its contents to pay inheritance taxes.

## Carter warns South Africa to end domination of South West Africa

FRESNO, California (Reuters). — President Carter has warned South Africa to give up its domination of Namibia or face "strong actions" by five major western nations in the UN.

Carter told a television interview show in Los Angeles Tuesday (reported briefly in an early edition of The Post yesterday) that Britain, France, West Germany and Canada had agreed to join the U.S. in endorsing such a stand on Namibia (South West Africa).

The former German colony is administered by Pretoria under a disputed UN mandate.

The president said the message would be delivered personally to South African Prime Minister John Vorster by Vice-President Walter Mondale in Vienna this week.

He said Mondale was going to give Vorster "a request — a little stronger than a request — that if you don't do something about Namibia then we are going to take strong actions

against you in the United Nations."

Carter's statement was in answer to a student's question about human rights in South Africa.

Carter said the U.S. was doing all it could to persuade South Africa to abandon apartheid but said that "short of war" the U.S. had no authority to force the Pretoria government to end racial segregation.

In Namibia, meanwhile, a resounding "yes" vote for a multi-racial interim government was recorded in 11 of 18 districts in a whites-only referendum which took place on Tuesday.

The referendum asked whites to approve or reject the constitution mapped out for the west coast nation by the representatives of its 11 racial groups, including whites and mulattoes.

Mondale arrived in Vienna yesterday.

On his arrival from visits with

political leaders in Spain and Portugal, Mondale praised efforts by the two Iberian nations to rebuild democracy. He omitted any mention of southern African racial problems.

Mondale will meet Vorster today and Friday to discuss the region, which is in the grips of guerrilla warfare between blacks and whites. Mondale and Vorster reserved the first day of their stay in Austria for courtesy calls on their Austrian hosts, before tackling the issues.

Vorster, who arrived on Tuesday, took a hard line in an Austrian television interview.

He rejected foreign interference in South Africa and South West Africa, which South Africa controls in defiance of the UN, and he said Rhodesia's future "is a matter to be solved between black and white Rhodesians. It is not for South Africa to prescribe ... what solutions and what forms of government they should have."

(Reuters, UPI)

## Zambian troops fire mortar shells into Rhodesia

SALISBURY (Reuters). — Zambian forces yesterday fired a barrage of mortar shells across the Zambezi River into Rhodesian territory, official sources said here.

The sources said the shells exploded in bush country near the northwest Rhodesian border town of Victoria Falls. There were no reports of damage or casualties. Rhodesian security force headquarters here declined immediate comment on the attack.

The mortar barrage was reported just two days after Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda announced that he had placed his army on the alert and that a state of war existed between Zambia and Rhodesia.

President Kaunda's declaration of war followed a warning by Prime Minister Ian Smith that Rhodesian troops would conduct "hot pursuit" operations into Zambian territory if guerrilla incursions from Zambia continued.

Official sources in Salisbury said mortars with a range of about five kilometres were used in yesterday's attack. Unconfirmed reports said the shells fell closer to the town of Victoria Falls than the official reports indicated.

Victoria Falls — a popular tourist resort — is usually swarming with Rhodesian troops. Hundreds of visitors were in the town during the bombardment, but a spokesman for a local hotel referred to the attack as "a small bit of nonsense."

## Animosity is in the air in Geneva

By PETER OSNOS

New Services Washington Post

MOSCOW. — Whatever comes out of this week's high-level U.S.-Soviet talks in Geneva — and the portents are not good — it will be difficult to dispel the animosity towards the U.S. that has dominated Kremlin attitudes in the early months of the Carter era.

Barely a day seems to go by now without some official Soviet protest over an American action. This entails summoning a senior member of the U.S. embassy staff to receive a formal complaint at the Foreign Ministry on matters such as private showings of the film "Doctor Zhivago" to broadcast by Radio Liberty and the U.S. refusal to give visas to Russian trade unionists.

Americans are doing a good deal of protesting also: about the way, for instance, Soviet police have blocked access to U.S. apartments, preventing Russians from entering. Or about the harassment of Joseph Presel, a first secretary in the political section who was accused in the government newspaper "Izvestia" of being a spy and who is now followed wherever he goes and subjected to threatening telephone calls.

From afar, these may easily be dismissed as routine matters.

But the accumulation of irritants reflects a malaise in Soviet-American relations that has become very pronounced, a reversion here to attitudes that prevailed before the first superpower summit in Moscow exactly five years ago this month.

The implications are profound. Soviet interest in accommodation with the U.S. was based in large measure on improving commercial ties. Yet figures for the early months of 1977 show a drop of 25 per cent in trade compared to last year, mainly because of reduced grain sales. Non-agricultural trade is completely stalled at a relatively low level.

As recently as last fall, Soviet Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev still spoke with enthusiasm about the prospects for economic relations if only the Jackson Amendment restricting the terms of most-favoured-nation status was withdrawn. Now there is only sullen silence on the subject.

Criticism in the press of U.S. "imperialism" around the globe has been raised to a crescendo close to that prevailing in the depths of the Cold War — the sort of propaganda barrage that may well be preparing the

Soviet population for sacrifices that will have to be made should the arms race be stepped up. Life in the U.S. is presented in the darkest terms.

It may only be coincidental that the Soviets have undertaken in 1977 the most sweeping crackdown on dissidents since before detente. But the fact underscores Kremlin anger over President Jimmy Carter's actions, particularly in the first few weeks of his administration, in support of human rights activists here.

Moscow may well have moved anyway because of its sensitivity over renewed intellectual unrest in Eastern Europe and a desire to show firmness in the months before the June Belgrade conference where the results of the Helsinki accord on human rights and other issues will be reviewed. But there seems no doubt that Carter's intervention exacerbated the situation.

Take the case of Anatoly Shcharansky, a 29-year-old computer specialist. Shcharansky was the informal spokesman for Jews who had sought permission to emigrate and been turned down. He was also active in the unofficial group monitoring Soviet compliance with the Helsinki provisions — a principal focus of the current crackdown — and he often served as a translator at dissident press conferences.

In early March he and several other prominent Jewish "refuseniks" were accused in "Izvestia" by a "repentant" dissident of working for the CIA. On March 15 Shcharansky was arrested and officials have since implied that he could be charged with treason.

The affair also has anti-Semitic overtones, many Westerners here say, since everyone mentioned in the article, including the Americans, is Jewish.

The purpose of the Shcharansky episode appears to be to discredit Americans as an answer to Carter's challenge on human rights. Certainly so provocative an attack on U.S. activities in Moscow would not be considered expedient if relations between the two countries were better.

How much the bitterness will affect Soviet positions in Geneva is hard to say — if only because Soviet sources seem so much wiser when talking to Americans these days.

Western analysts report that they have seen nothing to indicate that the Kremlin is prepared to modify its rejection of two American SALT proposals put forth when Vance was in Moscow six weeks ago.

## Chilean junta ready for another prisoner exchange with Soviets

SANTIAGO (Reuters). — Chile said on Tuesday night it was ready to release 13 prisoners in exchange for an equal number of political prisoners in the Soviet Union.

A Foreign Ministry statement said it would leave the Copenhagen-based Sakharov Human Rights Committee to choose the Soviet detainees who should be freed in the exchange.

The statement said the Chileans to be released had been tried and convicted here for "violating state security." It stressed that they were "common prisoners" not political detainees.

Last year Chile's military government released detained Chilean Communist Party leader Luis Corvalan in exchange for Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky.

The Sakharov committee, which is named after dissident Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov, put forward the original proposal for the Corvalan-Bukovsky swap. Chile has in the past said that with the release of Corvalan it only holds

one other political prisoner — former Communist senator Jorge Montt.

It has repeatedly offered to exchange Montt in return for the release from a Havana jail of Huber Matos, a former top aide of Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro; but Cuba has rejected the deal.

The Foreign Ministry statement said Chile had agreed to the release and exile of 13 Chilean prisoners "tried and convicted for infringing state security laws, arms control and the penal code, on condition that the Soviet Union allows 13 dissident intellectuals detained for a long time and in precarious health to leave the country."

In April the committee provided a list of 13 political prisoners in Soviet jails for a proposed swap with imprisoned Chileans. The list included Soviet Baptist leader Georgy Vins, writer Vladimir Oshpov, psychiatrist Semyon Gluzman and three women.

## Soviet-Jewish scientist is force fed, tried for vagrancy

MOSCOW (UPI). — Jewish activist Yosef Begun went on trial for vagrancy yesterday, but the judge quickly called a halt when he demanded a new lawyer.

Friends of the scientist said they caught only a brief glimpse of Begun when he was led out of the courtroom. He is in the 60th day of a hunger strike, but is being force fed by authorities.

The friends said the judge postponed the trial to June 8 after Begun complained that he was not satisfied with his state-appointed attorney. A new lawyer will be appointed, they said.

Begun was then returned to the prison cell where he has been held

since March. Several dozen supporters, and western correspondents attempted to gain access to the courtroom for the trial, but they were turned away on the grounds that there was no space.

Begun, 45, a specialist in using electronics to collate statistics was fired from his institute after applying in April 1971 for permission to emigrate to Israel.

In March he was arrested along with fellow activist Benjamin Fain when they tried to enter the U.S. embassy. Both were released, but Begun was arrested four days later and charged with vagrancy.

Fain said yesterday that Begun

had evidence that he was employed during the period after he was fired, including letters asking permission to pay taxes (the letters were rejected). Begun gave private lessons to students to make a living.

It is common for Jews holding important posts to lose their jobs after applying to emigrate to Israel. They then face the possibility of being charged with parasitism.

Begun's wife complained that she has been denied any communication with her husband since he was arrested. Word of the hunger strike reached her from a prisoner who shared Begun's cell and was recently released.

She also complained that his fami-

ly was given no time to prepare for the trial.

Among the supporters who waited outside the courtroom were Michael and Lois Krop of North Miami Beach, Florida. The Krops said they had participated in a sympathy hunger strike in Florida before coming to the Soviet Union.

"I feel very strongly about this poor man, whom we met during a trip three years ago," said Mrs. Krop. "We heard he is on a hunger strike and came to offer our support."

Mrs. Krop attempted to get into the courtroom but was turned away by militiamen at the court door.

## Sirhan wants to end long silence on Kennedy killing

LOS ANGELES (AP). — Convicted assassin Sirhan Sirhan, who has maintained silence for eight years, now says he wants to talk about the 1963 killing of U.S. Senator Robert Kennedy.

Sirhan, serving a life sentence, sent word through his attorney on Tuesday that he would like to meet with Los Angeles County supervisors Baxter Ward and Kenneth Kahn.

The invitation was relayed by attorney Godfrey Isaac as the supervisors opened public hearings in their investigation of unsolved aspects of the Sirhan case.

Isaac said Sirhan was familiar with the two, apparently from news reports. Both supervisors appeared startled at the invitation, but agreed to talk with Sirhan.

Sirhan, a former West Banker, was convicted of the Kennedy assassination in 1969 after a trial in which his attorneys contended the defendant suffered from "diminished mental capacity." The attorneys admitted, however, that Sirhan shot Kennedy in the pantry of the Ambassador Hotel on June 5, 1963.

Since then, speculation has arisen that a "second gun" may have been fired that night by someone else.

Kranz, appointed by the supervisors last year to do a thorough review of the case, issued a 60-page report last April 5 concluding that Sirhan was the lone assassin.

At Tuesday's hearing, three men who have conducted their own investigations condemned the Kranz report as misleading and shallow. Dr. Robert Joling, a forensic scientist, Paul Schrade, who was hit by a bullet, and former U.S. Congressman Allard Lowenstein told the board the possibility of a second gun still exists.

## John Conteh deprived of world boxing title

LONDON (UPI). — The World Boxing Council has stripped British boxer John Conteh of his world light-heavyweight boxing title because of Conteh's failure to fulfil his contract to meet Miguel Cuello of Argentina in Monte Carlo Saturday in a defence of his crown.

It is now expected that Jess Burnett, the world's No. 3 challenger for the light-heavyweight title, will meet Cuello in Monte Carlo on Saturday night.

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## Mr. Begin's chance

THE VOTERS who made Menahem Begin the country's next Prime Minister — which appears the inescapable result of Tuesday's elections — need not all have bargained for what they got.

That there was a marked rightward swing among the electorate is undeniable. Yet a large number of voters, mostly among those who switched from support of Labour to the Democratic Movement for Change, appear to have been mainly intent on signalling revulsion with the Alignment's sorry recent record of incompetence and corruption.

They may not necessarily have set on helping to install a Likud-led, right-wing nationalist administration in place of the traditional left-leaning coalition. This would seem to be indicated by the very decisiveness of Labour's debacle and of the Likud's success — which astounded almost everyone, pollster and pundit, vanquished and victor alike.

But that is what the voters wrought, for whatever reason, and Labour has only itself to blame for the dreadful beating it took. Cries of righteous anguish will not restore Labour's shattered hegemony.

That hegemony has now lasted Israel's lifetime — indeed nearly half a century, if one goes back into Zionist history — and though it has lately been slipping away, it will not be easy to yield gracefully. Yet yielded it must be, and the more smoothly the better for Israel's democracy, in which Labour surely has an abiding stake.

The transfer of power will start as soon as the new coalition is formed, which, from all indications, will be as early as early next month.

The makeup of the Begin administration is, in fact, already pretty clear: the Likud plus Shlomzion and the religious parties. That combination would make for only a bare Knesset majority, but it would do. The only question still open is whether the DMC, which has fancied itself as the balancing power, would in the end consent to compromise some of its presumably irreducible demands for the sake of a few seats at the cabinet table.

What is beyond question is that Labour will, for the first time ever, be absent from the cabinet room. That is likely to prove a painful experience, but also, perhaps, a highly salutary one — depending on what kind of use the party makes of the time that would be available for reflection and reform.

With the enormous leverage of economic power it still commands, Labour could try to bring down the next government by "sabotage" in the field, as it were. Hopefully, it will choose to play the role of the loyal opposition — as the Likud, to its credit, did, for a very long spell — and, in that role, employ all legitimate parliamentary tactics to overthrow the administration at the first available opportunity.

It would be a test of Mr. Begin's statesmanship if he can assure that that opportunity does not arise. He cannot, however, provide such assurance only by issuing idle calls for a "national unity" government which is obviously to be based on his own programme.

Oddly enough, even in the act of offering to heal the nation's divisions, the veteran Herut leader portrayed his electoral victory — in the televised "acceptance speech" — as the culmination of a titanic struggle of ideas dating back to 1931.

Carried away by jubilation over the fact that over a third of the people of this country have finally broken through the "barrier of fear" of himself, Mr. Begin appears to have forgotten that it is, still, only a little over one third. Even after he forms his expected coalition, he will most likely be facing a nation split right down the middle over his leadership. It is a cleavage which he cannot afford to ignore. For the very fabric of our democracy is involved.

People have long feared Menahem Begin not because they suspected him of disloyalty to principle, but, to the contrary, because they have viewed him as an unbending doctrinaire. His test will be not simply to overcome this image but to blend his political commitments with the need to rule on the basis of national consent.

His stand on Judea and Samaria — to which he forcibly committed the entire Likud, including a lot of reluctant Liberals — is alone an ominous sign. Mr. Begin's notion, reiterated yesterday morning, that he can have peace negotiations with the neighbouring Arab states while insisting on the annexation of all of the West Bank, is, to put it mildly, not widely shared. It certainly is not shared in Washington.

President Carter has done Mr. Begin an enormous favour — amounting to perhaps two or three Knesset seats — by his vaguely suggested, though repeatedly disavowed, imposition of a settlement on Israel. But Mr. Begin's territorial conception could itself be a ready-made formula for justifying a dictated American election.

# THE MAKING OF A NEW COALITION

What kind of coalition will Likud leader Menahem Begin be able to put together, that would command a sufficient majority in the Knesset? DAVID LANDAU, surveying the political scene after the election "earthquake," offers some observations.

AT THIS EARLY stage, before the dust has settled and before any substantial haggling has begun, a coalition-forming prognosis must be written as much with a pocket calculator as with a typewriter.

And the calculations are indeed revealing. For they show that despite the DMC's phenomenal attainment of 14 seats in a six-month creative exodus, the party in fact failed in that it explicitly set itself to become an indispensable partner in any politically workable coalition.

Instead the religious parties — the NRP and Aguda — have emerged as the fulcrum around which the real horse-trading will probably revolve. Indispensability was the target that Prof. Yadin laid down last summer, in that first now-famous television interview. The only way for his projected movement to force through the reforming measures that it considered vital, he explained, was for it to hold the balance between the two main blocs, and thereby to have the whip-hand over either of them in subsequent coalition bargaining.

He estimated that if he could obtain between 12 and 20 seats he would achieve that target.

Where he apparently miscalculated, however, was in not foreseeing that nearly all of the DMC's support would come from disgruntled Labour voters, anxious to "punish" the ruling party and eagerly accepting this newly proffered way of doing so without actually voting for Likud.

IN THE EVENT, the DMC has so weakened the Alignment (leaving it with only 33 seats — although some Labour voters were also lost to Likud and to other parties) that now the two of them together are inadequate to form a coalition (even incorporating also the ILP (1) and CRM (1)), without the participation of the NRP (12).

There is no reason to suppose, however, that the NRP under its fiery young leadership will want to join any such shaky, left-leaning coalition. Most of its members now see the party's natural place as alongside the nationalist Likud, and, indeed, preliminary Likud-NRP talks were already being held in the Knesset lobbies on Monday.

If the NRP (12) does, as expected, link up with the Likud — and if Aguda and Poalei Aguda (5-6) come

in too — then the Likud (41), together with Shlomzion (2) and perhaps Flatto-Sharon (1) will probably be able to form a majority government without the DMC. Such a government would admittedly command only a bare majority. But the very possibility of its formation effectively robs the DMC of its hoped-for key position in the context of a Likud-led coalition too.

Now, indeed, should a Likud-Religious coalition be seen merely as a theoretical feasibility to be used as an implied threat in Likud-DMC coalition talks.

While Menahem Begin has invited all "loyal" parties to join a national unity government, many pundits believe that Labour and the small left and centrist groups will decline, and that in practice Likud will actually open negotiations with the religious parties to establish a majority. As a next stage — so this scenario goes, and now from a position of impressive strength — Likud would offer DMC a coalition role — and would certainly not be inclined to accept all the various demands which the DMC has laid down as its conditions for joining a cabinet.

Most especially, the Likud would be expected to balk at the DMC's ultimate demand for new elections, under a reformed system, within two years. Herut has never been enthusiastic about the proposed transfer to a neo-constituency system. And the Likud as a whole, moreover, soon to taste power for the first time in so long, is unlikely to want to risk losing it again only half way through a normal four-year term.

NO-ONE CAN SAY with any certainty whether the DMC's demands are in fact amenable to the kind of flexibility that is the stuff of coalition negotiations. The Movement, after all, is a wholly new and unknown animal in the political forest. For the present, Yadin insists that all seven of the "basic principles" are ultimative and not open to any give-and-take. "We didn't enter politics in order to sit in the cabinet," he declares.

But this admirably high-minded sentiment does not quite stand up to the hurry-burly logic of the political arena. Yadin himself told the nation a year ago, at the very outset of his campaign, that this was precisely why he was entering politics: in

order to force his way into a government, ramming his reforming ideas down the throat of the bigger, but helpless, coalition partner.

Now that is all very well if you are absolutely indispensable. But if you are merely a desirable and convenient coalition partner, you make do with the most you can get, as the NRP learned and practised so adroitly during its decades of "historic partnership" with Mapai in its various incarnations.

Another of the DMC's seven principles which is bound to be a sticking point in coalition talks with the Likud is its insistence that its prospective partner's peace policy must not clash with its own. The Likud is pledged to annex the West Bank, while the DMC seeks to trade large and thickly populated Arab parts of it in exchange for peace.

Here, of course, the ideological rifts which permeate Labour (and even the Likud — although there they are deeply submerged under the joy of victory) are already beginning to show through in the DMC too. Aluf (Res.) Meir Zorea, considered a hawk, sounded fairly enthusiastic in a dawn interview over the prospect of a partnership with the Likud. But the dovish Aluf (Res.) Aharon Yariv, who would probably be a DMC candidate for ministerial office, said frankly that he considered the gulf between the positions of the two parties virtually unbridgeable.

(Likud elder statesman Elimelech Rinalit, of the liberal wing, suggested on television, by way of solution, that the two parties could reserve their positions and pledge to hold a referendum on the West Bank question when and if it becomes of practical concern. This would presumably leave the Likud forgoing or shelving its pledge to annex these areas — although theoretically they could perhaps be annexed and then unannexed again if the people decide in favour of concessions.)

MUCH WILL HINGE, so the calculations show, on the stands of Aguda and Poalei Aguda. The latter, smaller group were still struggling at the time of writing to return their second M.K. Abraham Weidner, both he and party leader Rabbi Kalman Kahana are hawkishly inclined, and would very probably go into a Likud-led government together with the NRP.

Aguda itself, which upped its

representation from three to four seats — the result of an energetic campaign and a high rate of natural increase among Aguda families — has been out of government now for 26 years, and seems thoroughly ripe for a return.

Circumstances have never been more auspicious. The party's two main conditions — put forward in 1953 and adopted then by Labour — are amendment of the Law of Return (halachic conversion) and the abolition of conscription for girls. On the first, they can count on the support of Begin himself — he voted with the religious parties on this issue — and on the NRP submitting it as an ultimative condition of its own.

On the second, Aguda insiders indicate that what the party really

wants is for girls who say they are religious not to be grudgingly interrogated, but to be in effect taken at their word. Since at present some fifty per cent of army-age girls do not enlist, this further stretching of the rules would not, presumably, affect the statistics overly much in practice, and could, therefore, probably be accepted by the military.

Aguda's other demands are for stiffer sentences for crimes of violence and drug-peddling, stricter censorship of films and television, tightening of the Shabbat observance practices in industry, abolition or amendment of the Abortion Law — all of which seem thoroughly "manageable" in the give-and-take of coalition negotiations.

## Dry Bones



### READERS' LETTERS

## 'The Evacuees' told the truth

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — With reference to Philip Gillion's remarks in "Television" (April 15), I believe that "The Evacuees" was the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. I told my Sabra children I could see myself in "The Evacuees" as if I were opening my own personal history book.

For Derby Street (which definitely existed), read Whitworth Street, High School (Cie), September 1939: beginning of a new school year, a whole group of new first-former girls from many different primary schools all over Manchester.

September 3: instead of classrooms we were agitated in the train, labels on our new uniform raincoats and our gammas in boxes around our necks. No one knew anyone, all new girls. Except me: I had a friend. Both of us came from the same primary school. She was twice my height, called appropriately enough for me, Mary Castle, and I stuck to her for dear life. Yes, we did troop in line from house to house with the evacuation officer. He had a list which indicated the number of evacuees to deposit at each house.

Blackpool is essentially a seaside resort divided into three definite sections: North Blackpool, wealthy hotels, large Jewish community, well established; Central Blackpool, strictly working-class rousing-type of beer-drinking holiday makers, very few Jewish families; and South Blackpool, lower middle-class and white-collar type of holiday makers, many Manchester Jewish families with children staying in the three-story semi-detached type of boarding houses.

So, there we were in South Blackpool, trudging up one street and down the next, the number of girls dwindling. It was getting close, the landlady said she would take ten children; the officer counted and stopped; my tall friend was number 10 and I was 11. We clutched each other's hand and the landlady said: "Well, I'll take the small one as well — I'll take 11."

No one knew I was Jewish. Till dinner-time the next day. When I didn't touch the food that evening, it

was put down to tiredness. But the next day I was hungry, having no more of my Mom's sandwiches left. I very nearly threw up just at the smell of the bacon next morning. That was the moment when I really became conscious of my Jewishness. At dinner-time I asked for something else to eat: the landlady meat with gravy over the potatoes. It came out: I was Jewish. I then had a period of being "holier than" Saturday when we were supposed to clean the rooms, I was excused, because "it is her Sunday" the girls explained. I even agreed to forgo playing on the beach because "we never played at home"; I became the centre of attraction and coming from a family of six children, that was quite a change. However, there were also those who passed snide remarks and I did my share of crying. For food, well for every meat dish, I got one or two Blackpool tomatoes instead, breakfast, dinner and supper too. Amazing how many meat dishes, bacon, etc., can be eaten in a day. Generally it was tomatoes with potatoes, that was the meal. This way when I saw whole tomatoes with potatoes on a plate, my inner mind flashes right back to those days.

Your other Halutz reader was a refugee, possibly living in a refugee hostel or boarded out with a Jewish family in Manchester, and no doubt the Refugee Reception Committee looked out for their interests. It sounds as if they took them to North

The English-born child went wherever he was directed by the school authorities with no differences made; willy-nilly, you were on a list and you were dropped off at the house that would take evacuees.

MYRA WEINBERG  
Haifa

## DACHAU MEMORIAL

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — I refer to "While West Germany lacks candour on Dachau" by Washington Post Correspondent Michael Getler (April 18).

While visiting Dachau, Mr. Getler obviously did not have sufficient time to view all exhibits on display in the museum. Otherwise he would not have written this report containing not only scanty but misleading information.

He quotes alleged statements I am supposed to have made, but never did, as I did not meet Mr. Getler personally. I feel to understand where he got his information.

The maintenance of the camp and its personnel are paid for by the Government of Bavaria. The Dachau Museum and the entire memorial site were planned and set up upon the initiative and according to plans of the International Dachau Committee, the international association of all former Dachau inmates. The project was approved and financed by the German authorities.

BARBARA DISTEL, Director  
Dachau Memorial

## STOP MOANING

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — Bravo for your leader. "A sense of proportion" (May 5). The "stop moaning" movement is long overdue.

However, I disagree with your statement limiting the job of the news media to "hard facts, expose abuses, pinpoint failures, lash inefficiency." If the public hears only "moaning" from the news media, how do you expect it to react? In order to achieve a sense of proportion, it should be the duty of the news media to stress the achievements as prominently as it does the failures.

Netanya.  
DE. JACOB ROSEN

## Dishonouring the flag

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — With reference to Martha Meisels article, "Dishonouring the flag" (April 23), I would like to point out that, unlike in America, there is no law against defiling the Israeli flag here. That is why the people from Gush Erez were fully within their rights when they covered their heads with the flag during that cloud burst.

I would also wish to point out to Mr. Meisels that, in accordance to Jewish law, no object can be worshipped (including the Israeli flag) and any law about defiling the flag would be considered idol worshiping in religious circles.

Rehovot.  
JOSEPH MILLIS

Martha Meisels comments:

There is, indeed, a law against defiling the flag. It is the Law of the Flag and the Emblem, 1949, and it states most clearly: "Anyone who dishonours the flag of the State or the Emblem of the State, or who causes dishonour to it, or uses it in such a way as to dishonour it, his sentence will be one year imprisonment or a fine of IL\$500, or both."

There is certainly a difference between "worship" and "honour" or "respect." Just as we treat with respect a Torah scroll, or a prayer book, or a *tefillin*, so we can treat the flag of the State, without making an idol of these items into an "idol."

Haifa.  
N.J. MENDELSON

## Equality for women in IDF

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — Aluf Binyamin Peled's words to the first female graduates of the Air Force jet mechanics course are somewhat surprising (May 5). It is ironic that this event should be considered a step forward for the IDF. Thirty years ago, there was no question as to a woman's ability to serve in the same capacity as a man in Israeli society. We have indeed regressed if "a shortage of manpower" is the only reason considered sufficient to allow a woman a measure of equal opportunity in the IDF.

MIRIAM FEINBERG  
Jerusalem.

## THE URANIUM AFFAIR

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — It is fascinating to speculate on the reason why the apparent disappearance nine years ago of a consignment of uranium should now suddenly flash upon the world's headlines.

If the uranium was intended for and legally acquired by Israel, then there should have been nothing further to discuss. If the consignment really went astray, then the time to raise the alarm would have been immediately when the ship was found to be missing, i.e. nine years ago. So why all the fuss now?

Can it be a deliberate leak by the Americans to create international publicity, thus adding weight to President Carter's proposed controls on nuclear raw materials?

Haifa.  
N.J. MENDELSON

### POSTSCRIPTS

WE WONDER whether Mr. Begin had time yesterday morning to listen to the BBC and notice the way in which they upgraded him in the World Service report on our election results. The leader of the Likud, the announcer said, had in pre-State days been "the head of a guerrilla movement." To the best of our knowledge, this was the first time the BBC had used the term "guerrilla," rather than "terrorist" to describe the Jewish underground dissident movements in this country. Nothing succeeds like success, apparently.

F.D.  
A FRIEND telephoned us the night before the elections with a new kind of greeting.  
"We wish you easy voting tomorrow," he said, paraphrasing the traditional pre-Yom Kippur good wishes for an easy fast.  
It was just right for all those undecided voters who hadn't been able to make up their minds until the last moment.

WHY DID the Canaanite city of Yotam fall to the Israelites in the days of Joshua while Megiddo, only 10 kilometres away, was not conquered until the days of King David? This is one of the questions that may be answered as the result of a large scale archaeological project to be started in the Western Bank this summer. The project, organized by

the Hebrew University's Institute of Archaeology, is scheduled to take five years. The dig is being conducted by Hebrew University archaeologists, members of the University's School for Overseas Students, and volunteers. More of the latter are still needed and interested persons should contact the Director, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.  
The Institute plans to establish a school for field archaeology at the site with the possibility of courses, in English, in various fields of local archaeology.

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**New beginning for Begin...**

...after Tuesday's elections, Yosef Goell analyses the unforeseen results and attempts to predict the possible composition of a Likud-led government.

Arms and Israel, Hersh Goodman discusses the moral, political and economic implications of our expanding armaments industry.

The Garden — Sophie Kahn tells the story of Israel's entry for the Cannes Film Festival.

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Plus all the regular features and the Weekend Dry Bones.

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**Driver, Give Soldiers Lifts!**

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